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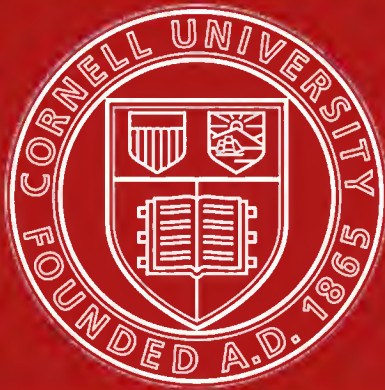
The Jews in Babylonia  
in the Time of Ezra  
and Nehemiah accord-  
ing to Babylonian  
Inscriptions



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## PREFACE

WHAT the Assuan Papyri are for the history of the Jews in Egypt, the Murashū documents are for the history of the Jews in Babylonia. The Aramaic papyri discovered at Assuan have shed new and unexpected light on the life of the Jews in Syene in the south of Egypt in the fifth century B.C.E., and the cuneiform tablets unearthed in the ruins of Nuffar acquaint us partly with the life of the Jews in Nippur in the south of Babylonia in the same period.

For the last few years I have felt that these Babylonian contract-tablets are very important from the point of view of Jewish history, and that the Jewish material which is contained in them deserves thorough and full investigation. A little over two years ago I began to occupy myself with these documents with that object in view. My intention was to publish and comment upon all those documents in which Jews are mentioned, and to deal especially with their names. But I soon saw that the very scanty leisure at my disposal would not allow me to realize my intention, at any rate not within a reasonable time. I therefore had to let the work rest. When, however, at the end of last winter the Council of Jews' College invited me to contribute the essay to the Annual Report my first thought was again the Murashū documents. To the old obstacle of little leisure new drawbacks were now added. The Council expressed the wish that the essay should not exceed thirty pages in print. And the time left for doing the work was very short indeed. But I thought that, if the whole

work could not be done, a part of it should at least be attempted. And that part, I decided, should be mainly the Jewish names contained in those documents. Even this work, limited as it had to be, suffered greatly through the want of time and space. I know only too well how much more complete this essay could have been. But it was impossible to do more in the short time left. I hope, however, that, in spite of their inevitable shortcomings, the following pages will be found to contain some new and interesting matter. They will, I hope, show, mainly to the non-Assyriologist, of what paramount importance the cuneiform records are for a more complete knowledge of Jewish life and history.

SAMUEL DAICHES.

JEWS' COLLEGE, LONDON,  
*June, 1910.*

## CHAPTER I

### JEWS IN BABYLONIA DURING AND BEFORE THE EXILE.

THE life of the Jews in the Babylonian exile is covered with a thick veil. Since the deportations by Nebuchadnezzar in the first two decades of the sixth century B.C.E. a great part of the Jewish people continued to live (even after the returns under Zerubabel and Ezra) in the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The importance of Babylonia for the subsequent course of Jewish history became second to that of Palestine. Although one is inclined to believe that modern Biblical scholarship overestimates the influence of the exile upon the development of the Jewish people and its religion, and upon the growth of the Hebrew literature, there can be no doubt that the Babylonian exile did become a powerful factor in the shaping of the life of the Jews and of Judaism in the following centuries. And of all that which we call the Babylonian exile we know practically nothing. From the deportation made under Jehojachin till the return under Zerubabel, from the latter event till the return under Ezra and the arrival at Jerusalem of Nehemiah, and from that time till centuries later we hear almost nothing of the captives in Babylonia and their descendants. From the sixth and fifth centuries voices of prophets and psalmists penetrate to us. But they do not tell us of the life of the people. Neither can we glean any information from the historical books of the Bible. We hear of Babel and the Golah very often. But the life of the people is hidden from our eyes. It is as if one

hears from a distance the roaring of the waves, but the sea remains invisible.

It is only a few inferences that we can make from a few passages in the Bible. From Jer. xxix. 5 ff. we see that the exiles could possess houses and live a fairly comfortable life in Babylonia. The first exilic prophet tells us that (a part of) the Golah lived 'by the river Kebar' (Ezek. i. 1; iii. 15). In the latter passage a place called Tel-Abib is mentioned. In Ezek. viii. 1 and xiv. 1 we read that the elders of the people used to assemble in the house of the prophet; cf. also xx. 1 and xxxiii. 30 ff. From Ezra ii. 66, 67 (cf. Neh. vii. 68, 69) we see that the exiles possessed horses, mules, camels, and asses. Many had man-servants and maid-servants, even man- and woman-singers (Ezra ii. 65; Neh. vii. 67). From Ezra viii. 26 ff. we see that many of them were in a position to make voluntary contributions towards the building of the temple (cf. also Ezra ii. 68, 69; Neh. vii. 70-2). From Neh. v. 8 we see that some Jews were in the service of non-Jewish masters. On the other hand, the high office of Nehemiah as cup-bearer at the court of Artaxerxes shows us that the Jews could attain high positions in the Babylonian exile, at any rate in the Persian period. Babylonian places are mentioned in Ezra ii. 59 (cf. Neh. vii. 61); viii. 17. In Ezra viii. 15, 21 the river Ahava is mentioned. Cf. also Ezek. iii. 15 and i. 1; iii. 15, 23; x. 15, 20, 22; xliii. 3. We also see from the books of Ezra and Nehemiah that many Jews bore names which were distinctly Babylonian. This is practically all the knowledge about the life of the Jews in the Babylonian exile which we can gather from the few fragmentary references in the Old Testament.

Now the veil is beginning to lift. The spade of the explorer which is digging up the past of the former inhabitants of the Tigro-Euphrates valley is also instrumental in partly uncovering to us the life of our ancestors in that valley in bygone days. As far back as the seventh

century B.C.E. we find names of Israelites on Assyrian contract-tablets.<sup>1</sup> In my article 'Kommt das Tetragrammaton יהוה in den Keilinschriften vor?' in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. XXII, I advanced the theory that Israelites lived in Babylonia in the middle of the second millennium B.C.E. (the time of the sojourn of the bulk of the Hebrews in Egypt), and, in fact, this seems to me the only way of explaining some names in the Cassite tablets (see l.c., p. 133 and p. 135, note 1). That in the time of Abraham many Western Semites lived in Babylonia is now a well-established fact. There is no doubt that those Western Semites included Hebrews. Names like Iadaḥ-ilu, Iaḥi-ilu, Iakub-ilu, Iamlik-ilu, Iarbi-ilu, Iashub(p)-ilu<sup>2</sup> testify to this fact. Iaum-ilu was no doubt also a Hebrew.<sup>3</sup> I believe that the family of Abraham originally came to Babylonia from Canaan, so that Abraham afterwards *returned* to the native land of his ancestors. It may be that there is a reason for the fact that Gen. xi. 28, speaking of Haran, the son of Terah, especially mentions בארץ מולדתו באור כשדים, and that Gen. xii. 1 points out that Ur of the Chaldees was the birthplace of Abraham, and that reason may be this—only the children of Terah were born in that country, Terah himself having migrated to Babylonia from Canaan. This might perhaps also explain why Abraham was called העברי (Gen. xiv. 13).<sup>4</sup> It was known that Abraham, although coming from Babylonia, was a Hebrew. We thus see (and we know it partly from the Bible) that there was an intercourse between Babylonia (and Assyria) and Canaan since the earliest times. Through the Babylonian excavations we begin to see how Israelites

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, Vol. III, pp. 163-4.

<sup>2</sup> See Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, pp. 113-14, and Ungnad in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. VI, part 5, p. 77 and p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> See *Zeitschr. f. Ass.*, Vol. XXII, p. 135, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> The explanation of עברי as 'one from beyond the Euphrates' (cf. Gesenius-Brown, *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 720) would, of course, fall away.



actually lived in the land of the two rivers throughout the various centuries.

The exile, however, marks the beginning of a new period. While before the exile small numbers of Jews lived in Babylonia, after the exile naturally the Jewish population of Babylonia became very large. In spite of the returns to Palestine under Zerubabel and Ezra the number of the Jews in Babylonia steadily increased in the course of time. We meet the names of Jews in cuneiform tablets almost immediately after the beginning of the exile. But they are scarce, and they remain scarce for more than a century. We have nearly four thousand contract-tablets from the time of Nebuchadnezzar (604-561) down to the time of Darius I (521-485).<sup>1</sup> But, as said, the Jewish names which we find there are not many.<sup>2</sup> A sudden change comes when we reach the times of Artaxerxes I (464-424) and Darius II (424-404). In the business documents dating from the years of these two kings the names of Jews are found in great abundance. It is difficult to say whether the difference is due to the different places from which the tablets came (the first-mentioned tablets having been written in Babylon and surrounding places, and the last-mentioned documents having been written in Nippur), or to the different times. The latter seems the more probable reason. The longer the Jews lived in Babylonia the more they entered into the social and commercial life of the Babylonians. It may, however, also be that more Jews lived in the south of Babylonia (see below, p. 10). Be this as it may, the life of the Jews in Babylonia in the time of Artaxerxes I and Darius II becomes now partly known to us through the Babylonian documents dating from this period.

The honour of having found those tablets belongs to

<sup>1</sup> See J. N. Strassmaier, *Babylonische Texte*.

<sup>2</sup> See K. L. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*.

the Americans. At the end of May, 1893, the third Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania discovered a room in the ruins of Nippur, in which more than 730 contract-tablets were found. Upon closer examination they proved to be business documents, in which the sons and grandsons of a certain Murashū figure very prominently. All the transactions are conducted by them. The room must have, therefore, contained the archives of the firm Murashū Sons, who, as we see from the documents, were bankers and brokers at Nippur in the time of Artaxerxes I and Darius II. The tablets are now in the Babylonian Museum in Philadelphia. About 250 of these documents have been published by Professor Hilprecht and Professor Clay in Vols. IX and X of Series A (Cuneiform Texts) of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, under the title of 'Business Documents of Murashū Sons of Nippur'.<sup>1</sup> The documents published in B.E. IX are dated in the reign of Artaxerxes I, and those published in B.E. X are dated in the reign of Darius II. And in these documents a very large number of Jewish names is found. We find these Jews as contracting parties, as officials, as agents, as servants, and as witnesses. It is well to remember that the Assuan Papyri date practically from the same period.<sup>2</sup> The Assuan Papyri cover the years 471-411 (= 60 years), and the Nippur documents cover the years 464-404 (= 60 years).<sup>3</sup> I must also mention here that many of the Murashū documents have Aramaic endorsements upon them, and the script of these endorsements is very similar to the script of the Assuan Papyri.

<sup>1</sup> To be quoted here as B. E. IX and B. E. X.

<sup>2</sup> See *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*, edited by A. H. Sayce with the assistance of A. E. Cowley, 1906.

<sup>3</sup> Would it be too risky to say that the documents used to be arranged in the archives rooms in periods of sixty years? The number of 60 played in Babylonia the same rôle as the number 10 with us. The same method might have been in vogue in Egypt. It would therefore not be a mere coincidence that in both cases the records found cover sixty years.

## NIPPUR AND נִהַר כְּנַר.

The city of Nippur exists no more. Its ruins consist of great mounds, and are situated about fifty miles south-east of Babylon, between the Euphrates and the Tigris. The place of the ruins is called now by the neighbouring Arabs Niffer or Nuffar.<sup>1</sup> The city that once occupied this site was probably the oldest and at times the most flourishing city in Babylonia. Its history goes back to the end of the fourth millennium B.C.E.,<sup>2</sup> and ends towards the close of the first millennium of the common era.<sup>3</sup> Its history thus covers a period of at least five thousand years. A version of the Babylonian story of creation mentions Nippur as the first of the three earliest cities of Babylonia. In the Babylonian language its name was Nippur. The Bible calls it כַּלְנֶה (Gen. x. 10). This we know from a tradition preserved in the Talmud. Ioma 10a we read: כלנה זה נופר 'Calneh, this is Nufar NINPI'. We see from this passage that in the Talmudic times the city was called Nuffar, as to-day, and that it was regarded as identical with כַּלְנֶה.<sup>4</sup>

The ruins of Nippur are divided in two almost equal parts by a large canal, whose bed is now dry. The canal was of very great importance for Nippur. It is called to-day by the Arabs Shatt-en-Nil. In the Babylonian inscriptions it is designated ideographically as 'the Euphrates of Nippur'. In one of the Murashū tablets it is mentioned as the nār Kabari, 'the large canal,' which is the phonetic writing for 'the Euphrates of Nippur'.<sup>5</sup> It was the largest canal in Babylonia proper,

<sup>1</sup> See Peters, *Nippur*, Vol. II, p. 231, and Hilprecht, *Recent Research in Bible Lands*, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> See Peters, l. c., p. 246, and Hilprecht, *Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia*, p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> See Peters, l. c., p. 264, and Hilprecht, l. c.

<sup>4</sup> For the meaning of NINPI, see my article 'Die Bezeichnung Nippur's im Talmud' in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, December, 1908.

<sup>5</sup> See Hilprecht, l. c., p. 412.

and was therefore called 'the large canal'. 'It was the great artery which brought life and fertility to the otherwise barren alluvial plain enclosed by the Euphrates and the Tigris, and turned the whole interior into one luxurious garden.'<sup>1</sup> It was the canal on the banks of which a part of the Golah erected its tents, and the prophet Ezekiel saw his divine visions, for nār Kabari is נהר כבאר (see Ezek. i. 1 and passim).

The Jewish history of Nippur is a fairly long one. It commences at the latest with Ezekiel (beginning of the sixth century B.C.E.), and ends with the end of the city (ninth century of the common era).<sup>2</sup> Nippur thus had a continuous Jewish population for at least fifteen centuries.

## CHAPTER II

### THE JEWISH NAMES IN THE MURASHŪ DOCUMENTS.

As mentioned above, we find many Jewish names in the business documents of the firm Murashū Sons. It is, however, difficult to say how many names of Jews are actually contained in these inscriptions, because, as we will soon see, and as we also know from the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, many Jews bore Babylonian and other foreign names; so that in cases where there is not some other evidence showing that that person was a Jew (as, for instance, when the father or the son or the brother of that person has a Hebrew name), the Jew with the Babylonian name remains unrecognized. It is therefore safe to say that there are in the Murashū documents more names of Jews than Jewish names.

In enumerating here the Jewish names I will divide them into two groups: (A) purely Jewish (Hebrew) names, and (B) foreign names borne by Jews (as shown

<sup>1</sup> See Hilprecht, l. c., p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> See Peters, l. c., p. 263 f.

by other facts). I will, in both cases, first enumerate the names occurring in the documents from the time of Artaxerxes I, and then those occurring in the documents from the time of Darius II. With each name the names of father, son, brother or uncle will be given. All the names will be transliterated, and in each (first) name it will be seen of how many cuneiform signs it consists.

## A.

HEBREW JEWISH NAMES FROM THE TIME OF  
ARTAXERXES I.

(1) Ahi-Ia-a-ma, son of Iadīh-Iāma, brother of Iāhū-natanu, Shamahūnu (and Padāma), 45 : 2.<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew writing of this name would be אחיה (not אחיהו).<sup>2</sup> (2) Bana-'ilī,<sup>3</sup> father of Iadīh-Iāma, 25 : 1 ; 45 : 1, L. E.<sup>4</sup> The Hebrew writing of this name would be בנאל. (3) Ga-da-al-Ia-a-ma, son of Shabbatai, 69 : 20. The Hebrew writing of this name would be גדליה. This name also occurs in the Assuan Papyri, and is written גדליה (Pap. B 20). (4) Ha-ag-ga-a, son of Ilī-ḳatari, 28 : 14. This is a Hebrew name formed by the Jews during the exile after a Babylonian pattern.<sup>5</sup> This name also occurs in the Assuan

<sup>1</sup> i. e. document 45 (in B. E. IX, or B. E. X), line 2.

<sup>2</sup> In my article in the *Zeitschr. f. Ass.*, Vol. XXII, I have, I believe, proved that Ia-a-ma in these names does not represent יהוא or יהו, but only יה (see l. c., pp. 127-33 ; see also below, p. 13 and p. 15). I may also mention here that in my opinion, the name Ahi-ia-u occurring in Dr. Johns's *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (see Vol. III, p. 44 ; see also p. 404, where Dr. Johns reads this name Naṣir-Iau ; cf. also the *Index of Proper Names*, p. 549 and p. 565) does not contain the divine name יהו (or יה). ia-u is a simple ending of the name, as the writing of this name in the Murashū documents seems to show. In 54 : 12 ; 81 : 3, 5, 7, L. E. it is written Ahi-'a-u. If יה would have been contained in this name it would have been written Ahi-Ia-a-ma. Cf. also the Assuan Papyri, where this name is written אחי (Pap. A 15, B 18, I 19, L 16, M b 2) and not אחיה.

<sup>3</sup> ilī = AN-MEŠ ; see *Zeitschr. f. Ass.*, Vol. XXII, p. 133, and the references quoted there.

<sup>4</sup> L. E. = Left edge (of the tablet).

<sup>5</sup> See my article 'Einige nach babylonischem Muster gebildete hebräische Namen' in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, June, 1908.



Papyri, and is written חני (Pap. K 16). (5) Ḥa-na-na, Ḥa-na-na-', 1. son of Ardi-Gula, 3: 7; 2. son of Minahimmu, 20: 16. Ḥanana is equivalent to Hebrew חנן. From the fact that the Babylonian scribe wrote Ḥanana instead of Ḥanan, we may infer that the Babylonians preferred to give a vocal ending to Hebrew names ending with a consonant. ma in Iāma may be connected with it. The Babylonians may have heard יה as Iam (יה properly pronounced is not far from Iam!), and as they wrote Ḥanana for Ḥanan, so they wrote Iama for Iam.—This name also occurs in the Assuan Papyri, and is written חנן (Pap. K 16). (6) Ḥa-na-ni-', 1. son of Bēl-ittannu, 8: 17; 2. son of Ninib-muballit, grandson of Ardi-Ninib, 63: 7; 3. father of Iādīḥ-ilī, 14: 6; 15: 2, 11. This name is identical with Hebrew חנני. On an Aramaic endorsement this name is written חנני. (7) Ḥa-na-ni-Ia-a-ma, son of Udarna', 69: 20, L. E. The Hebrew writing of the name would be חנניה. (8) Ḥa-nun, son of Bēlshunu, 87: 1, 6, 8, 9, L. E. Heb.: חנון. On an Aramaic endorsement this name is written חנון, the whole endorsement consisting of the words שטר חנון (see Clay, l. c., p. 303). (9) Ia-a-di-ḥu-ilī, Ia-di-ḥu-ilī, son of Ḥanani', 14: 5, Lo. E.<sup>2</sup>; 15: 1, 10, 15; 107: 3. This name is in Hebrew יריעאל. It is interesting to observe that the y is rendered by ḥ. The change of the vowels is also interesting. (10)<sup>1</sup> Ia-a-ḥu-ú-la-ki-im, father of Shilimmu, 28: 15. The first element of this name is the divine name יהו, and the second element is לָכִם. This name would therefore be in Hebrew יהוּלָכִם. We have thus got here a Hebrew name which has not been preserved in the Bible. The same is the case with the following name (Iāḥu-lunu). It is interesting to observe that ה is rendered here by ḥ. lakīm for לָכִם is also worth noticing. For the meaning of the name cf. יהוה עמכם (Ruth ii. 4). (11) Ia-a-ḥu-lu-nu, 55: 1, 14. See the remarks on the previous

<sup>1</sup> See Clay, 'Aramaic Indorsements on the documents of Murashū Sons' in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies*, Vol. I, p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. Lower edge (of the tablet).

name. Note *lunu* for לָנוּ. For the meaning of the name cf. עֲמִנוּאֵל. (12) *Ia-di-iḥ-Ia-a-ma*, son of *Bana'-ilī*, 25: 1, L. E.; 45: 1, L. E., father of *Padāma*, *Iaḥū-natanu*, *Shamaḥūnu*, *Aḥi-Iāma*, 25: 20; 45: 1, 10, 20; 29: 3. In Hebrew this name would be יִדְעִיָּה. It is interesting to see this Jewish father in the company of his four sons, all of whom bore genuinely Jewish names. One may assume that this was a family full of Jewish self-consciousness and pride of race. (13) <sup>11</sup> *Ia-ḥu-ú-na-ta-nu*, son of *Iadīḥ-Iāma*, brother of *Padāma*, *Shamaḥūnu*, *Aḥi-Iāma*, 25: 19; 45: 1. This name is in Hebrew יְהוֹנָתָן. Note here also *ḥu* for הוּ, and *tanu* for תָּן. On an Aramaic endorsement this name is written יְהוֹנָתָן (see Clay, l. c., p. 304). (14) *Ig-da-al-Ia-a-ma*, son of *Nanā-nādin*, 45: 4. This name is in Hebrew יִגְדָּלִיָּה. Note the father's name which is genuinely Babylonian. This name occurs in the Assuan Papyri in the shortened form of יִגְדָּל (Pap. B 18, C 22, D 34). (15) *Mi-na-aḥ-ḥi-im-mu*, father of *Ḥanana*, 20: 16. This name is in Hebrew מִנְיָהִם. The writing *Minahḥimmu* shows that in those times the vowel *i* was still pronounced in this word. Cf. also the LXX renderings of the *Shewa* mobile through *ε*, *α*, &c. (see Gesenius's *Hebräische Grammatik*, 27th ed., § 10 e). This name occurs several times in the Assuan Papyri, and is written מִנְיָהִם (Pap. G 38, H 2, 9, 16, 17, 19, I 18, K 15). (16) *Mi-in-ia-me-e*, son of *Bāniia*, 45: 33. *Miniamē* is undoubtedly a somewhat different writing for *Miniamīni* (see the following name). Both names are, I think, identical with Hebrew מִיָּמִין. A different question is: what is the relation of this name to the Hebrew name בְּנִימִין? As מִיָּמִין (resp. מִיָּמִין or מִיָּמִן) occurs only in post-exilic books of the O.T. (Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles), and בְּנִימִין occurs mainly in the earlier books of the O.T., I should like to make a distinction between בְּנִימִין and מִיָּמִין. It may be that the earlier Hebrew name בְּנִימִין became *Miniamin* in the Babylonian pronunciation, and then came back from the Babylonian into the Hebrew as מִיָּמִין, מִיָּמִין, מִיָּמִין. (17)

Mi-in-ia-mi-i-ni, son of Bēl-abu-ušur, 14: 11. See the preceding note. Note the Babylonian name of the father. (18) Na-tu-nu, son of Shilimmu, 45: 5; also in nāru sha Natūnu ('the canal of Natun'), 65: 7, 16, 20, 22. In Hebrew it would, no doubt, be נָתַן. This form of the name from the root נָתַן has not been preserved in the Bible. (19) Pa-da-a-ma, son of Iadīḥ-Iāma, brother of Iāḥū-natanu, 25: 18. If this name stands for Hebrew פָּדָה, then Ia has fallen out. It is, however, possible that this is the equivalent of a Hebrew name פָּדָה, in which, of course, the element יָה or אֱל would have had to be supplemented. In either case the ending ma is worth noticing, as it is in this name clearly not a part of the divine name Ia(ma). It seems to me that, when the Babylonian scribe had a Hebrew name ending on a, especially when preceded by ia, he put ma after a. It may be that the Jews pronounced these names in such a way as to give the Babylonians the impression that there was yet the sound of m or ma in it (see above, p. 13). (20) Pa-ni-ia, father of Shilimmu, 14: 14. This name is, no doubt, shortened from the name Pani-ili (see the following name), with the 'Rufesuffix' ia. (21) Pa-ni-ili, 3a: 12. The name of the father is broken off. It is no doubt also a Jewish name. In Hebrew it would be פָּנִיאל. (22) Pa-ta-aḥ, father of Shamū, 84: 5. This name is undoubtedly abbreviated from Pataḥ-Iāma, which would be in Hebrew פֶּתַחִיה. This name was most probably formed by the Jews in the exile, as פֶּתַחִיה occurs in the O.T. only in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. The exile will have given rise to the formation of a good many new names (see below). A name like פֶּתַחִיה may have been given to a new-born child after the permission given to the Jews by Cyrus to return to Palestine. (23) Pi-li-Ia-a-ma, son of Shilimmu, 14: 4, 9; 34: 24; 45: 33. This seems also to be a name formed during the exile, as its Hebrew equivalent (פִּלְאִיָּה, פִּלְאִיָּה) occurs only in Nehemiah and the Chronicles (see below). More than once could the Jews

praise the wonders of God during the exile. If the Hebrew vocalization is the correct one, then the name means, 'God has acted wonderfully.' In that case we would, however, have expected Pa-la-Ia-a-ma (cf. Pa-da-a-ma, Pa-ta-aḥ, Ga-da-al-Ia-a-ma). Pi-li-Ia-a-ma is more like *יְהוֹאֵל*. I would therefore prefer to regard Pili as a transliteration for the adjective *פִּלְאִי* 'wonderful, incomprehensible'. It may also be *פִּלְאִי* 'my wonder'. The name would then mean 'wonderful is God', or 'my wonder is God'. The first seems to be more likely.<sup>1</sup>

(24) Sa-at-tu-ru, son of Shabbatai, 45 : 3. This name is identical with Hebrew *סַתְיָר* (not with *סַתְרִי*). (25) Shab-ba-ta-ai, Shab-bat-ai, 1. father of Satturu, 45 : 3 ;<sup>2</sup> 2. father of Gadai-Iāma, 69 : 21 ; 3. 86 a : 1. This name is found in Hebrew as *שַׁבְּתַי*, and is, as I showed in my article referred to above,<sup>3</sup> one of a few Hebrew names formed by the Jews in the exile after similar Babylonian names.

(26) Sha-ma-aḥ-ū-nu, son of Iadīḥ-Iāma, brother of Iāḥū-natanu, Aḥi-Iāma and Padāma, 45 : 2. Shamahunu is, of course, identical with Hebrew *שַׁמְעוֹן*. Here we have again ḥ for y, and u for Hebrew o. (27) Sha-mu-ū, son of Pataḥ, 84 : 5. This name is most probably Hebrew *שַׁמּוּעַ*.

(28) Shi-li-im-mu, 1. son of Iāḥū-lakim, 28 : 14 ; 2. son of Paniia, 14 : 14 ; 3. father of Natūnu, 45 : 5 ; 4. father of Pili-Iāma, 14 : 5, 9 ; 34 : 24 ; 45 : 33. Shilimmu must have been a favoured name, as we find it here borne by four persons. The Hebrew form of this name is *שְׁלִימ*. Note in the cuneiform transliteration the ending mu. This name also occurs in the Assuan Papyri, and is written *שלם* (Pap. A 19, K 16, E 20).<sup>4</sup> (29) Ti-ri-Ia-a-ma, Tir-ri-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in the Assuan Papyri the name *גורל* (Pap. B 18 and passim), which no doubt stands for *גורליה* 'Great is Iah'.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the father of Satturu is to be read Shabbatai, not Shabbaliai (see B. E. ix, p. 70) ; cf. for the sign ta in 45 : 3 B. E. x, *List of Signs*, no. 85.

<sup>3</sup> See *O. L. Z.*, June, 1908.

<sup>4</sup> Cowley, l. c., p. 52, reads this name Shallum. As, however, Shallum is mostly written *שלום* in the post-exilic books of the O. T., and as we

Ia-a-ma, 1. father of Balātu, 64 : 12; 75 : 11; 2. father of Shamash-muballit, 11 : 12, R. E.<sup>1</sup>; 30 : 30; 34 : 25; 35 : 30; 39 a : 8; 48 : 33, R. E.; 51 : 11; 59 : 21; 69 : 18. This name is a somewhat peculiar name. As the second element shows, it is a Jewish name. The first element, however, is not a Hebrew word. It is most probably a Persian word; cf. names like Ti-ra-ka-am, Ti-ri-ka-mu and Ti-ri-da-a-ta (see B. E. IX, p. 72; also B. E. X, p. 65). In any case Tiri is here not the name of a god (see B. E. X, p. 65, note §). It is very likely that Tiri is the Persian word for 'power'.<sup>2</sup> The meaning of this name would then be 'My power is Iah'. There were many mixed names of this kind in that time. Nabū-ḫatari and Nabū-zabad (see B. E. IX, p. 64 and p. 65) are half Babylonian and half Aramaic. In the O. T. Tiri-Iāma is found once, in 1 Chron. iv. 16, where it is written תִּירִיָּא.

#### HEBREW JEWISH NAMES FROM THE TIME OF DARIUS II.

(1) Ba-li-Ia-a-ma, son of Zabina', 118 : 5, 37. The Hebrew form of this name is בעליה, which occurs in 1 Chron. xii. 6. There can be no doubt that in this (post-exilic) name בעל means only 'lord, master', and has nothing to do with the deity בעל.<sup>3</sup> (2) Ba-na-Ia-a-ma, son of Tūb-Iāma, brother of Hannani', of Zabad-Iāma and of Zabina', 118 : 1, 11, 13, 25, 29, R. E. In Hebrew: בניה. (3) Ba-rik-ki-Ia-a-ma, 60 : 2, 8. In Hebrew: ברכיה. This name also occurs in the Assuan Papyri, and is written ברכיה (H 17, I 13). (4) Ga-da-lu-Ia-a-ma, son of Shabbatai, 7 : 16. Cf. above (p. 12) sub Gadai-Iāma. (5) Ha-ag-ga-a, father of Shabbatai, 85 : 16, L. E. Cf. above (p. 12) sub Haggā. (6) Ha-na-an-na, 127 : 5, 9, 11, R. Also in a place named after him:

have the name Shilimmu in the Murashū documents, I think the reading שלם in the three papyri mentioned is to be preferred. The name שלום, however, in Pap. I 18 is, I think, to be read Shallum and not Shalom (Cowley's reading, see l. c.).

<sup>1</sup> R. E. = Right edge.

<sup>2</sup> See Zenker, *Türkisch-Arabisch-Persisches Wörterbuch*, p. 331 sub tir.

<sup>3</sup> See Gesenius's *Heb. u. Aram. Wörterbuch*, 14th ed., p. 96.



ālu Bīt-Ḥanana', 127: 4. Cf. above (p. 13) sub Ḥanana. (7) Ḥa-an-na-ni-', Ḥa-an-ni-', 1. son of Bēl . . . 24: 17; 2. son of Minahhim, 128: 15, L. E.; 3. son of Ninib-ētir, brother of Gubbā, 61: 2; 4. son of Tābiia, 132: 1, 19; 5. son of Tūb-Iāma, brother of Bana-Iāma, Zabad-Iāma, and Zabina', 118: 1, 18, 30; 6. son of Udarna', 84: 15 (abbreviated from Ḥananu-Iāma). Cf. above (p. 13) sub Ḥanani'. Ḥannani must have also been a much favoured name. (8) Ḥa-na-nu-Ia-a-ma, son of U'darna', 7: 14. Cf. above (p. 13) sub Ḥanani-Iāma. (9) Ḥa-an-ni-ia, 119: 9. This name is Ḥanni (no. 7) with the 'Rufesuffix' ia. (10) Ḥa-nu-nu, son of Ninib-lūkīn, 8: 2. Ḥanunu = Ḥanun. Cf. above (p. 13) sub Ḥanun. (11) Ḥi-il-lu-mu-tu, father of Shabbatai, 92: 6. This name is no doubt to be connected with the word חִלְמִית in Job vi. 6, which is the name of a certain plant. Cf. the name חִבְקִיק, which is identical with the Assyrian word hambakūku, the name of a garden-plant (see Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*).<sup>1</sup> (12) Ia-da-aḥ-Ia-a-ma, son of Shamesh-ladin, 94: 1, 5, 11, 15, R. This name would be in Hebrew ירעיה. Cf. also above (p. 14) sub Iadīḥ-Iāma. (13) Ia-a-di-ḥu-ilī, son of Aḥushunu, 46: 4. Cf. above (p. 13) sub Iādīḥu-ilī. (14) Ia-a-ḥu-la-ki-im, 77: 3, L. E. Name of father broken off. Cf. above (p. 13) sub Iāḥū-lakim. (15) Ish-ri-bi-Ia-a-ma, son of Pillu-Iāma, 65: 9, 14, R. This name would be in Hebrew ישרביה. In the Old Testament it is found in the form of שרביה (Ezra viii. 18, 24 and Neh. viii. 7, and passim). What is the meaning of this name? שרב means in Hebrew 'parch', 'heat'. If we take שרב in the name Ishribi-Iāma or שרביה to be the same word, then the name gives no sense. 'God has parched' or 'has sent heat' cannot be the meaning of a name. I should therefore like to suggest that the first element of this name is to be connected with the Assyrian word šūrubu (√erēbu = ערב) meaning 'to cause to enter' and hence, no doubt, also 'to produce', as the

<sup>1</sup> See also *O. L. Z.*, June, 1908, col. 278, note 2.

noun šūrūbtu, meaning 'ingathering, produce',<sup>1</sup> clearly shows. Ishribi-lāma would then mean 'Iah has caused to come, has produced (a child, children, a family)'. That this verb was also used for the designation of 'producing children' is, I think, shown by the following. In Syriac we find the verb ܣܘܪܒܬܐ, meaning 'to propagate, to generate; to found (a city), fill (it) with families'.<sup>2</sup> ܣܘܪܒܬܐ has similar meanings.<sup>3</sup> The noun ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ means a 'generation', 'family', 'race', 'tribe', &c.<sup>4</sup> It is obviously impossible that these words should be derived from the root ܣܘܪܐ, 'to be dry'.<sup>5</sup> It therefore seems to me almost certain that the Syriac ܣܘܪܒܬܐ, 'to propagate,' &c., and ܡܠܟܐ, 'family,' &c., came from the Assyrian šūrūbu and šūrūbtu. All the meanings that the verb and noun have in Syriac<sup>6</sup> can then be fully explained, as 'to cause to enter' lends itself to various interpretations. We would then have to distinguish in Syriac between two roots: (1) ܣܘܪܐ, 'to become dry, hot' (= Heb. שׁרַב, Ass. šarrabu<sup>7</sup>), and (2) ܣܘܪܒܬܐ, 'to propagate,' &c. (= Ass. šūrūbu, 'to cause to enter, to produce,' šūrūbtu, 'ingathering, produce'). The name Ishribi-lāma gets thus a satisfactory meaning. (16) Ma-at-ta-ni-lā-a-ma, Ma-at-ta-ni-'-lā-a-ma, son of Shirka', 83: 14, R. E. This is the Biblical name מַתַּנִּיָּה. (17) Mi-na-aḥ-ḥi-im, Mi-na-aḥ-ḥi-mu, Mi-na-ḥi-im, Mi-na-ḥi-mu, 1. father of Hannani', 128: 15, L. E.; 2. 127: 5, 8, 10, U. E.<sup>8</sup>; 3. 118: 4, 36. Cf. above (p. 14) sub Minahḥimmu. (18) Mi-in-lā-me-en, 1. son of Bāniia, 76: 14, U. E.; 2. son of Bēl-abu-uṣur, brother of Shabbatai, 65: 18, U. E.; 84: 13, Lo. E.; 85: 12, Lo. E. Cf. above (p. 14) sub Miniamē.

<sup>1</sup> See Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 128<sup>a</sup>, and Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, p. 1111, col. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Payne-Smith, *Syriac Dictionary*, p. 597, col. 1, and Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> See opp. c.

<sup>4</sup> See opp. c.

<sup>5</sup> See opp. c.

<sup>6</sup> See opp. c.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed., p. 415, and see Muss-Arnolt, l. c., p. 1112 col. 1.

<sup>8</sup> U. E. = Upper edge.

(19) Pi-il-lu-Ia-a-ma, father of Ishribi-Iāma, 56 : 10, R. Cf. above (pp. 15-16) sub Pili-Iāma. (20) Shab-ba-ta-ai, Sha-ba-ta-ai, 1. son of Bēl-abu-ušur, brother of Miniamen, 65 : 18, U. E. ; 2. son of Ḥaggā, 85 : 16, L. E. ; 3. son of Ḥillumutu, 92 : 6 ; 4. son of Shirka', brother of Libluṭ, 39 : 2 ; 5. father of Gadalu-Iāma, 7 : 17. Cf. above (p. 16) sub Shabbatai. Shabbatai must have also been a much favoured name (see below, p. 35).<sup>1</sup> (21) Ti-ri-Ia-a-ma, father of Taddannu, 97 : 12. Cf. above (p. 17) sub Tiri-Iāma. (22) Ṭu-ub-Ia-a-ma, father of Bana-Iāma, Ḥannani', Zabad-Iāma, and Zabina', 118 : 1. This name is identical with the Biblical name טוביה. Note here, too, the change of *o* into *u*. Cf. also the Syriac ܬܘܒܝܐ.<sup>2</sup> (23) Zabad-Ia-a-ma, son of Ṭūb-Iāma, brother of Bana-Iāma, Ḥannani', and Zabina', 118 : 1, 18, 30. The Hebrew equivalent of this name is זבדיה, which occurs only in Ezra and Chronicles, and is therefore, no doubt, a name formed during the exile. Cf. also below (p. 27).

## B.

The non-Jewish names borne by Jews in these documents are, as far as they can be recognized with certainty as those of Jews, to be divided into (1) Babylonian, (2) Aramaean, and (3) Persian.

<sup>1</sup> By the way, this name is important for the question of the origin of the Sabbath. Without entering here into this question, I will merely point out that the word שבת seems to have been a well-known Hebrew word in the time of the exile. The writing Shabbatai also shows it. The Babylonian word which is regarded by some scholars as the equivalent for שבת (see Gesenius's *H.W.*, 14th ed., also the *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, s.v.) is written šab(p)attum. Cf. also *O. L. Z.*, June, 1908, col. 278, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> It is worthy of note that the same change of *o* into *u* is also to be found in the name of the well-known Jewish family Sassoon, which originates from Bagdad. Sassoon is Hebrew ששון. The Babylonian pronunciation, however, was not Sasson, but Sassoon, just as Ṭub-Iāma, Shamāḥunu, &c., and this pronunciation has been preserved up to the present day.

FOREIGN JEWISH NAMES FROM THE TIME OF  
ARTAXERXES I.

(1) *Babylonian Names.*

(1) Ardi-Gula, father of Ḥanana', 3 : 7 [18]. Ardi-Gula means 'servant of (the goddess) Gula', and is an ordinary Babylonian name; see Tallqvist, l. c., pp. 13-14 and pp. 244-5. This name occurs several times in B. E. IX, but only in this instance can it be proved, through the name of the son, to be the name of a Jew. The first element of this name is found on an Aramaic endorsement, and is written ארר (in the name [ל]ארדנרג); see Clay, l. c., p. 315. Sometimes it is also written ערר; see Tallqvist, l. c., p. 306. (2) Ardi-Ninib, grandfather of Ḥanani' and father of Ninib-muballit, 63 : 7; 94<sup>a</sup> : 2. Ardi-Ninib means 'servant of (the god) Ninib', and is an ordinary Babylonian name. Names composed with Ninib are very frequent; see Tallqvist, l. c. Here it is the grandson through whom the Jewish grandfather is recognized. (3) Balātu, son of Tiri-lāma, 64 : 12; 75 : 11. This is a very frequent Babylonian name. In Tallqvist's *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* it is to be found no less than 110 times (see pp. 19, 20). Its meaning is 'life'. Cf. the late Jewish name חיים; see Zunz, *Namen der Juden*, p. 37. Balātu is most probably a shortened name; cf. Tallqvist, l. c., p. 19. (4) Bāni-ia, father of Miniamē, 45 : 34. This is also a frequent Babylonian name. The name is composed of Bāni and the 'Rufe-suffix' ia; see Tallqvist, l. c., p. xxxi. Bāni is most probably one of two or three elements forming a name, and with the suffix ia it forms a (shortened) name by itself; see Tallqvist, l. c., p. xxxi, note 7, and p. 21. Bāni comes from the Babylonian root banū, 'to build,' 'to create.' The name בָּנִי occurring in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, is, no doubt, identical with the Babylonian name Bāniia. The suffix ia is not reproduced in Hebrew;

cf. the renderings on the Aramaic endorsements of these tablets of תַּבִּיָּא for Tābiia and חַנִּיָּא for Ḥanniia (see my remarks in *Zeitschr. f. Ass.*, vol. XXII, p. 128, note 3). (5) Bēl-abu-uṣur, father of Miniamīni, 14: 11. Also an ordinary Babylonian name. Its meaning is: 'O (god) Bēl, protect the father.' On two Aramaic endorsements this name is written בִּלְאַבְּצֻר; see Clay, l.c., p. 312 and p. 315. The u of uṣur was thus not reproduced in the Aramaic. Bēl is written here in the same way as in the Old Testament (cf. Isa. xlv. 1; Jer. l. 2). (6) Bēl-it-tan-nu, father of Ḥanani', 8: 17. A frequent Babylonian name; see Tallqvist, l.c., pp. 37-8. Its meaning is: '(The god) Bēl has given.' The second element of this name is found on an Aramaic endorsement, and is written אֲתָן (in the name נְבוֹאֲתָן; see Clay, l.c., p. 302). (7) Bēl-shu-nu, father of Ḥanun, 87: 1. Also a very frequent Babylonian name. It is a shortened name; see Tallqvist, l.c., p. 43. Its meaning is: '(This or that god is) their lord.' The name בִּלְשֻׁן (Ezra ii. 2; Neh. vii. 7) is identical with Bēlshunu. (8) Nanā-nādin, father of Igdal-Iāma, 45: 4. The meaning of this name is: '(The goddess) Nanā giveth.' Nanā was one of the names of the Babylonian goddess Ishtar; see Zimmern, l.c., p. 422 and p. 442. This name of the goddess is also found in Syriac, written נַנִּי, as name of the planet Venus (see l.c., p. 425), and is contained in 2 Macc. i. 13-15 in the name of the goddess *Navaia* (see l.c., p. 442, and *ibid.* note 6). On an Aramaic endorsement Nanā is written נַנָּא (in the name of זְבַרְנַנָּא; see Clay, l.c., p. 311). (9) Ninib-muballit, father of Ḥanani' and son of Ardi-Ninib, 63: 6; 94<sup>a</sup>: 2, L. E. The names with Ninib are very numerous, especially in this period. The meaning of this name is '(The god) Ninib calls into life'. Cf. the name סִנְבִּלִּט, which stands for Sin-uballit. (10) Shamash-muballit, son of Tiri-Iāma, 11: 11, R. E.; 30: 29; 34: 24; 35: 30; 39<sup>a</sup>: 8; 48: 33, R. E.; 51: 11; 59: 20; 69: 18. This is also a frequent Babylonian name and means: '(The god) Shamash calls into life.'



The first element of this name is found on two Aramaic endorsements, and is written שוש; see Clay, l.c., p. 313 and p. 315. In *Legal and Commercial Transactions dated in the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian Periods, chiefly from Nippur* (= B. E. VIII, 1), published by Professor Clay, an Aramaic endorsement contains the name Shamash-uballit, written שושבלט (pp. 64 and 72). It may be that the reading Shamash-uballit is to be preferred to Shamash-muballit. In the Assuan Papyri the first element of this name is written שמש (in the name שמשנורי; Pap. L 12).

## 2. Aramaean.

(1) Ilī-ka-ta-ri, son of Haggā, 28: 14. This is an Aramaean name, as the second element shows, for katari is no other word than the Aramaic word קתרא 'rock'; cf. also Syriac ܩܬܪܐ 'rock'. It therefore means, 'My God is my rock.' The Hebrew equivalent of Ilī-katari is אליצור (Num. i. 5 and passim). Cf. also צוריאל (Num. iii. 35), צורישרי (Num. i. 6 and passim), and פרהצור (Num. i. 10 and passim). Cf. also Ps. xviii. 3, אֱלֹהֵי צוּרִי. The name of the father (Haggā) shows that Ilī-katari was a Jew. (2) Ra-ḥi-im-ilī, father of Zabdiia and Udarna', 65: 28; 69: 3, 6; 59: 17; 69: 1. This name is Aramaean, and means 'God is merciful'. The name of Hanani-Iāma, whose grandfather Raḥim-ilī was (see below sub Udarna'), shows that Raḥim-ilī was a Jew. On an Aramaic endorsement this name is written רחמאל (see Clay, *Old Testament and Semitic Studies*, vol. I, p. 308). (3) Za-ab-di-ia, Zab-di-ia, son of Raḥim-ilī, 65: 28; father of Bēl-ittannu, brother of Udarna', 69: 3, 6. The root זבר is to be found in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac. The name Zabdiia is, however, Aramaean. It occurs in the contract-tablets from the time of Nabonidus, Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspis (see Tallqvist, l.c., p. 216). It is also to be found in the Talmud, where it is written זברי and זברא (see Levy,

*Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, Vol. I, p. 509<sup>a</sup>. Another form of this name is Zabidā (see B. E. IX, p. 73, and Tallqvist, l. c., p. 216<sup>b</sup>). This is found in the Talmud as זבירא and זביר (see Levy, l. c.). The element זבר in the Biblical names containing this root (see Gesenius, *Hebr. u. Aram. Wörterb.*, p. 172) is therefore to be regarded as an Aramaic element. They are nearly all post-exilic names. That this Zabdiia was a Jew the name of his nephew (see sub Udarna') shows.

### 3. *Persian.*

(1) Ú-da-ar-na-', son of Raḥim-ilī, 59 : 17; 69 : 1, 7, 8, 10, 12, L. E.; brother of Zabdiia, 69 : 3; father of Ḥanani-lāma, 69 : 20, L. E., and uncle of Bēl-ittannu, 69 : 3. Údarna' is no doubt identical with the Persian name וידרנג (Widarna-g) occurring in the Assuan Papyri (Pap. H 4; I 2. 4).

## FOREIGN JEWISH NAMES FROM THE TIME OF DARIUS II.

### 1. *Babylonian.*

(1) Aḥu-shu-nu, father of Iādīḥu-ilī, 46 : 4. Aḥushunu, 'their brother,' is an ordinary Babylonian name (see Tallqvist, l. c., p. 5). On three Aramaic endorsements this name is written אַחושן; see Clay, l. c., pp. 299, 303, and 314. The last *u* is not reproduced; cf. בלשן for Bēlshunu. It is interesting to observe that Bēlshunu was pronounced by the Jews בלשן, just as יהולנו was pronounced by the Babylonians Iāḥulunu. (2) Bāni-ia, father of Miniāmen, 76 : 14, U. E. Cf. above, p. 21. (3) Bēl-abu-ušur, father of Miniāmen, 65 : 18, U. E.; 84 : 13, Lo. E.; 85 : 12, Lo. E.; father of Shabbatai, 65 : 18, U. E. Cf. above, p. 22. (4) Bēl . . . ., father of Ḥanani', 24 : 17. The rest of the name is broken off. (5) Gu-ub-ba-a, son of Ninib-ēṭir, brother of Ḥannani', 61 : 2. One might have doubted whether one should regard this name as Babylonian or as Aramaean, as the root גבב, from which it no

doubt comes, is to be found in all Semitic languages, and has in all of them the same meaning: 'cistern' (see Gesenius-Brown, *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 146). As it is, however, found in the personal name Sha-Ishtar-gubbu (see Muss-Arnolt, l. c., p. 209, col. ii), it is almost certain that Gubbā is a good Babylonian name. Gubbā also occurs as the name of a woman in a contract-tablet from the time of Nabonidus (see Tallqvist, l. c., p. 64). It may be that Gubbā is shortened from a name like Sha-Ishtar-gubbu or Sha-Ninib-gubbu. 'From Ishtar (or Ninib) [comes] the cistern (= source) [of life, or blessings]' is a fine name. Gubbā means 'my Gubbu'. (6) Libluṭ, son of Shirka', brother of Shabbatai, 39 : 2, L. E. This is a very frequent Babylonian name; see Tallqvist, l. c., pp. 95-96. Its meaning is: 'May he (the son) live.' Whether **ל**, **ל** and **ל** in the Biblical names **ל**, **ל** and **ל** can be regarded as a vocative, so that **ל** in these names would refer to the child, and thus correspond to Libluṭ (see Tallqvist, l. c., p. xxi, note 3), is very questionable. That this Libluṭ is a Jew is shown by the name of his brother Shabbatai. (7) Ninib-ēṭir, father of Gubbā and Hannani', 61 : 3. Ninib-ēṭir is a usual Babylonian name. Very often it is shortened into **Ṭir** (see Tallqvist, l. c., pp. 61-62). Its meaning is: 'Ninib is protecting.' The second element of this name is found on four Aramaic endorsements, and is written **Ṭir** (in the name **Ṭir** and in the name **Ṭir**); see Clay, l. c., pp. 311, 312, 313, and 314. Cf. also the Assuan Papyri, where the name **Ṭir** is found (Pap. E 3). Cf. also the name **Ṭir** in Ezra and Nehemiah. (8) Ninib-lu-kin, father of Hanunu, 8 : 2. It is an ordinary Babylonian name, and means: 'May Ninib establish (my seed, my family).' (9) Shamesh<sup>mesh</sup>-la-di-in, father of Iādaḥ-lāma, 94 : 1, 6. This is, no doubt, a Babylonian name in spite of the West-Semitic pronunciation of Shamash as Shamesh (see Hilprecht, B. E. X, p. xiv and p. xi). The meaning of this name is most probably 'May Shamash judge (or bring justice)'; see

Hilprecht, l. c., p. xi, note 1. Cf., however, also Tallqvist, l. c., p. 321. (10) Shir-ka-', 1. father of Libluṭ and Shabbatai, 39:2; 2. father of Mattani-Iāma, 83:14, R. E. Shirka' is a shortened Babylonian name. Its meaning is not known; see Tallqvist, l. c., p. 202; B.E. X, p. 63, note †, and Muss-Arnolt, l. c., p. 1115, col. ii. (11) Tad-dan-nu, son of Tiri-Iāma, 97:11. Taddannu is a frequent Babylonian name, and means 'gift', 'present'; see Tallqvist, l. c., p. 211. On an Aramaic endorsement this name is written תדנן; see Clay, l. c., p. 306. We have here then Aramaic ת for Babylonian 𐤠. (12) Tābi-ia, father of Hānni', 132:1. Tābiia is shortened from names like Tāb-Marduk, Tāb-Ninib (see Tallqvist, l. c., pp. 213 and 317). It is a frequent Babylonian name. Tābiia is composed of Tābi and the 'Rufesuffix' ia ('My Tābi'). On an Aramaic endorsement this name is written טבי; see Clay, l. c., p. 314. Cf. also above, pp. 21-22.

### 2. *Aramaean.*

(1) Za-bi-na-', son of Tūb-Iāma, brother of Bana-Iāma, Hānnani, Zabād-Iāma, father of Bali-Iāma, 118:1, 5, 11, 13, 25, 29, 37. Zabina' comes from the Aramaic verb זבן 'to buy', and means 'the bought (object, article)'. Cf. זבין 'object of purchase, goods'; זביןא 'sale, sold goods' (see Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim*, &c., p. 379; cf. also Levy, *NHW.*, I, p. 511). Cf. the Hebrew name זבין, and the explanation given for this name in Gen. iv. 1. The name זביןא is also found in Ezra x. 43, and also in the Palestinian Talmud (see Jastrow, l. c., p. 403). In our documents we also find this name in the form of Zabini and Zabin; cf. also Zabinu in Tallqvist, l. c., p. 216. That this Zabina' is a Jew is clearly shown by the names of his father, son, and brothers.

### 3. *Persian.*

(1) Ú-'-da-ar-na-', Ú-da-ar-na-', father of Hānanu-Iāma, 7:15; 84:15, where the name of the son is written Hānnani'. Cf. above, p. 24.

These are, as far as can be ascertained with certainty, the names of Jews occurring in the Murashū documents. Of these 52 (=29 in the Artaxerxes documents and 23 in the Darius documents) are genuinely Jewish (Hebrew) names. When we eliminate those names of the Darius documents which are already found in the Artaxerxes documents, then we have 38 genuinely Jewish names in the Murashū tablets. These 38 names represent 70 (or one or two more) persons. Of foreign Jewish names we have 22 Babylonian, 4 Aramaean, and 2 Persian names. If we again eliminate the names which are already found in the Artaxerxes documents, and repeat themselves in the Darius documents, we have 20 Babylonian names, representing 20 (or 21) persons, 4 Aramaean names, representing 4 persons, and 2 Persian names, representing, it seems, one person. Thus we find in the Murashū documents 26 foreign Jewish names representing 25 or 26 persons.

Let us now see by whom and in what period the 38 genuinely Jewish names occurring in the Murashū documents were formed. In order to ascertain this we must see how many of these names do not occur in the O. T. at all, and how many of them occur only in the post-exilic books of the O. T. To enable the reader the better to survey the Hebrew Murashū names, I will give them here in Hebrew transliteration. They are : אחיה, בנאל, בניה, בעליה, ברכיה, גדליה, זבדיה, חגי, חלמות, חנון, חני, חנן, חנני, חנניה, טוביה, יגדליה, ידיעאל, ידעיה, יהולכם, יהולנו, יהונתן, ישרביה, מנחם, מתניה, מנימי, מנימין, נתון, סתור, פדה, פלאיה, פני, פניאל, פתח, שבתי, שמעון, שמוע, שלם, תיריה. A comparison with the names in the O. T. shows the following: the names בנאל, חלמות, בניה, חני, יהולכם, יהולנו, ישרביה, מנימי, נתון, פדה, פני, פתח do not occur at all in the O. T., although most of these names are found in the O. T. in different forms. The following names are to be found only in post-exilic books of the O. T. (see mainly Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles): בעליה, ברכיה, זבדיה, חגי, חנון (as name of a Jew), חנן (except Jer. xxxv. 4),

חנני (except 1 Kings xvi. 1, 7), טוביה, ידיעאל, ירעיה, מתניה (except 2 Kings xxiv. 17). It may be added that the names בניה and חנניה occur mainly in post-exilic books of the O.T., that אחיה, גדליה, יהונתן, שמעון occur in pre- and post-exilic books of the O.T., that סתור occurs only in Jer. xxxv. 4, מנחם only in 2 Kings xv, only in Num. xiii. 13, and שלם only in Gen. xlv. 24 and Num. xxvi. 49. We thus see that out of the 38 names 11 names do not occur at all in the O.T., and 16 names occur only in post-exilic books of the O.T. (4 out of these 16 names occur *once* in pre-exilic books), while 2 names are found mainly in post-exilic books, 3 names occur only once and one name only twice in the O. T., and 5 names occur equally frequently in pre- and post-exilic books. There can be no doubt, therefore, *that the large majority of the Hebrew Murashū names was formed by the Jews during the exile* (see also below, p. 33). It is also very probable that the few names which were taken over from earlier times received a new meaning. The names גדליה, אחיה, יהונתן, מנחם, סתור, שלם were no doubt meant to express ideas of the exiles.

The foreign names which the Nippur Jews adopted were, as we see from the above list, mainly Babylonian. For the sake of easier comparison I will repeat them here. They are: Aḥushunu, Ardi-Gula, Ardi-Ninib, Balātu, Bāniia, Bēl-abu-uṣur, Bēl-ittannu, Bēlshunu, Bēl . . ., Gubbā, Libluṭ, Nanā-nādin, Ninib-ēṭir, Ninib-lūkin, Ninib-muballit, Shamash-muballit, Shamesh-ladin, Shirka', Taddannu, Ṭābiia (Babylonian); Ilī-ḳatari, Raḥim-ilī, Zabdiia, Zabina' (Aramaean), and Údarna' (Persian). It is worthy of note that of the foreign names each name represents only one person (with the possible exception of Shirka'; see above, p. 26), while some Hebrew names represent several persons. The giving of foreign names was, therefore, after all restricted. The Babylonian names were certainly not meant to express the ideas of the giver of these names (see below, p. 34). Still, the



Jews with the non-Jewish names would not have become known to us if not for the Jewish names of their fathers, children, or brothers.

Now as we have been able to discover in the Murashū documents 25 or 26 Jews under their non-Jewish designations we may say that out of the clay-tablets from the firm of Murashū Sons a hundred Jews are speaking to us, Jews who were the contemporaries of Ezra and Nehemiah. Some of them may have spoken to those great restorers of Judaism, and may have even helped them in their efforts. Thus there comes from the ruins of the temple of Bēl a resurrection of a part, however small, of the Jewish past.

## CHAPTER III

### THE SOCIAL POSITION AND THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE JEWS IN BABYLONIA IN THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.E.

#### I. THE SOCIAL POSITION OF THE JEWS IN BABYLONIA IN THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.E.

THE Murashū documents show us that the social position of the Jews in Babylonia in the fifth century B.C.E. was a good one. They owned land and possessed capital, and took a full share in the commercial activity of the community. Many of them were employed in the service of Babylonians and Persians, for whom they transacted business, and whose entire confidence they seem to have enjoyed. Some were collectors of rent. Others, again, were royal officials, as the designation of Ḥannani', the son of Minahhim, as *sha ana muḥḥi iṣṣur<sup>coll.</sup> sha sharri* (B. E. X, 128: 15, L. E.), 'one who is over the birds of the king,' shows. The king was Darius II. There was one profession in which we do not find any Jews,

and that was the profession of scribe. But neither do we find in it any other non-Babylonians. The names of *all* the scribes are pure Babylonian. It may be that the profession of the scribe was a hereditary one, or that the Babylonian was more familiar with the Babylonian language and more skilful in the cuneiform writing. No political barriers seem to have existed between the Babylonians and the non-Babylonians. Quite different from Egypt of the same period. The Assuan Papyri take us into a Jewish-Egyptian ghetto of the fifth century B.C.E. The Elephantine Papyri show us that the Jews in Syene were even persecuted by the Egyptians, and it was the arm of the Persian law which had to protect them. In the Murashū documents we find no trace of separatism. Babylonian, Persian, and Jew lived peacefully together. There also lived in Babylonia in that period other nationalities, as Medians, Aramaeans, Sabaeans, Edomites, Indians. But the Jews seem to have been next in importance to the Babylonians and Persians. They were perhaps even more important than the Persians. Round Nippur there were many small inhabited places, suburbs or villages. Many of these seem to have belonged to certain families, and were called, it appears, after the name of the (first?) owner. One of these places, we find, was called Bīt-Ḥanana' (B. E. X, 127: 4). The place most probably belonged to Ḥanana' and his family. The canal called after Natunu (nāru sha Natūnu, B. E. IX, 65: 7, 16, 20, 22) was, of course, situated in the fields belonging to Natunu. The Jews in Babylonia were then what we would call to-day entirely emancipated. They were free citizens in a free land.

## 2. THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE JEWS IN BABYLONIA IN THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.E.

The Murashū documents unfortunately do not contain any reference to the religious life of the Jews mentioned

in them. The Assuan Papyri tell us of the house of God (see Pap. E 14, I 6) standing in the 'King's Way' (see Pap. I 6-7). The Elephantine Papyri furnish us with a description of this house of God, and of the sacrifices offered therein. Not so the Murashū inscriptions. They are silent as to the religious institutions of the Jews of those times. And still they enable us to form an opinion about the religious (and even national) life of those contemporaries of Ezra and Nehemiah. Those contemporaries of Ezra and Nehemiah speak to us through their names, and their names give us more than hints as to what their belief was, as to what their ideas, aspirations, and longings were.

We have seen above that most of their (Hebrew) names were formed by the Jews during their life of exile in Babylonia. Some of these names do not even occur in the O.T. They are, therefore, not mere conventional names, which conveyed little or no meaning to those who gave them and those who bore them. They were coined with full consciousness, and the ideas expressed in them were the ideas that animated the fathers and the children in those times. And what are these names? *בעליה* 'My Lord is Iah', *ברכיה* 'Iah has blessed', *זכריה* 'Iah has made a gift', *טוביה* 'Iah is good', *ירעיה* 'Iah knoweth', *מתניה* 'a gift of Iah', *פלאיה* 'Iah is wonderful', *חיריה* 'Iah is my power' (only post-exilic); *בניה* 'Iah has built', *חנניה* 'Iah has been gracious' (mainly post-exilic); *אחיה* 'Iah is my brother', *גדליה* 'Iah is great', *גדליה* 'Iah is great', *יהונתן* 'Iah(u) has given'; *ישראל* 'Iah propagates', *יהולכם* 'Iah(u) unto you', *יהולנו* 'Iah(u) unto us' (the last three only in the Murashū documents). Who was then their God? The God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, *אֱלֹהֵי אֲשֶׁר אֱהִיָּה*. In Him they believed, in Him they trusted. He was to them the source of blessing, of goodness, and of power. Especially touching are the names *יהולכם* and *יהולנו*. Nothing would deprive them of their God, of the God of Israel. It seems to me that the Jews in the exilic times

formed so many names with יה<sup>1</sup> instead of with אל in order again and again to proclaim that it was only the God of their ancestors who was their God, and none of the gods of their neighbours, as the word אל, used also by the Babylonians and the other Semites for 'god', might have implied. This might be a reasonable explanation for the abundance of יה-names in that time.<sup>2</sup> So we learn from those clay-tablets from Nippur that the Babylonian Jews of that time firmly believed in the One God.

And what were their ideas and aspirations? Let us again consult the names. Names like חנני, חנניה, חנן, all speaking of the grace and mercy of God, and the names speaking of His goodness, greatness, and power, no doubt refer to the redemption that had come and was coming to Israel through the returns to Palestine and the restoration of Judaism in its former home. And what do the names פרה 'He has delivered', פתח 'He has opened,' מנחם 'the Comforter' mean? Does it not seem as if we heard again the words אנכי אנכי הוא מנחמכם (Isa. li. 12), as if we read again of the freeing of those who are imprisoned (see Isa. lxi. 1), and of the redemption of Israel. 'Truly, God is wonderful,' was the sigh of the man who gave to his child the name פלאיה. And the names בנאל 'God has

<sup>1</sup> Six more names ending with יה are found on Babylonian contract-tablets from the time of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis (see Tallqvist, l. c., p. 245). They are Ia-she'-Ia-a-ma ישעיה, Ni-ri-Ia-a-ma נריה, Ga-ma-ar-Ia-a-ma גמריה, Na-ta-nu-Ia-a-ma נתרניה, Shu-bu-nu-Ia-a-ma שובניה, A-ka-bi-Ia-a-ma אקביה. The tablet on which Akabi-Iāma occurs most probably dates from the time of an Artaxerxes (see Pinches, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XV, p. 14). The meaning of these names is clear except that of Shubunu-Iāma. Tallqvist (l. c., p. 332) assumes an unknown root שבן. I believe that Shubunu is = שובנה נא. u for a as in lunu for לו. Cf. the (post-exilic) Biblical names שובנאל (1 Chron. xxiv. 20) and אֶלְיָשִׁיב (Ezra x. 6 and passim; Neh. iii. 1 and passim; 1 Chron. iii. 24). It is worth mentioning that the daughter of this ישעיה was called Tābat-Ishshar. His wife was called Halā, most probably a Babylonian woman.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that in the Assuan Papyri there is not a single name composed with אל, while there are a great many names with יה.

built', בניה 'Iah has built' had, no doubt, reference to the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem. And when we listen more intently to the language these names speak to us, we believe we hear the voice of the psalmist. It is a very remarkable fact that the ideas of several of the above names are found as central ideas in nine out of the fifteen psalms beginning with שיר המעלות. Cf. the names חננו יהוה חננו with Ps. cxxiii. 3<sup>a</sup>, חנני, חנן, חננייה. Cf. the name יהוה חננו with Ps. cxxiv, which in its first and second verses contains the words לולי יהוה שהיה לנו. Cf. the name טוביה with Ps. cxxv. 4<sup>a</sup>, which reads חיטיבה יהוה לטובים. Cf. the name גריל יהוה with Ps. cxxvi. 2<sup>b</sup>. הגריל יהוה לעשות עמנו 3<sup>a</sup> and ver. 3<sup>a</sup> לעשות עם אלה. Cf. the names לא יהוה לא יבנה בית 1<sup>a</sup> with Ps. cxxvii. 1<sup>a</sup> בניה and בנאל. Cf. the name ברכיה with Ps. cxxviii. 5<sup>b</sup> and cxxxiv. 3<sup>a</sup> ברכת יהוה and Ps. cxxix. 8 יברכך יהוה מציון. Cf. the name פריה with Ps. cxxx. 7<sup>c</sup> אליכם ברכנו אתכם בשם יהוה. והוא יפרה את ישראל מכל עונותיו 8 and ver. 8 והרבה עמו פרות. What the divine singer expressed in a psalm, the ordinary Jew expressed in a name. His was a living song: his child. Would it be too much to assume that many of those Jews sang the 'songs of ascents'? The similarities in the ideas are too striking. The psalmist gave expression to what the people felt.<sup>1</sup>

We thus see that the hearts of the Babylonian exiles were turned towards their ancient home. Their prayers were for Palestine and for the success of the work of the regeneration of Juda. No wonder men like Ezra and Nehemiah arose from the midst of such Jews. Why then, one might ask, did these Jews not return to Palestine? The answer is not difficult to give. Some

<sup>1</sup> The above parallels would, by the way, show that the view that the 'songs of ascents' were composed in the Greek period (see, e. g., Briggs, *Psalms*, vol. I, p. lxxix f.) is untenable. They would, on the other hand, confirm the view that the phrase שיר המעלות refers to the ascent from the Babylonian exile (see *ibid.*). The 'song of ascents' would therefore be the correct translation. Very fittingly Ewald called these psalms 'the songs of the homeward marches' (see *ibid.*).

of them might not have had sufficient courage to leave their homes, established for many decades. Some might have thought that they could help more their brethren in Palestine by remaining in Babylonia and sending them financial support (cf. Ezra i. 6). Others, again, might have thought that the time for the return had not arrived yet, and waited for some special divine act putting an end to the exile and bringing the whole of Israel back to its land. This waiting for a special divine interposition was, no doubt, justified through passages like Jer. xxxii. 36 ff., Ezek. xxxiv. 11 ff., Isa. xl. 3 ff., 9 ff., Mic. v. 2. That many people in Jerusalem took up a similar attitude with regard to the building of the temple is shown by Hag. i. 2.<sup>1</sup> There were, of course, a good many among the Jews in Babylonia who were indifferent, as the Babylonian names seem to show, although many of those who returned to Palestine had, as we know from the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, Babylonian and other foreign names. The adoption of foreign names was, no doubt, to a great extent unintentional. They did not think of the meaning of the names in these cases. Otherwise they would not have adopted names composed with Bēl, Ninib, Shamash, &c. In some cases the foreign names might have been due to the non-Jewish wives, for we know from Ezra and Nehemiah that many of the exiles intermarried.<sup>2</sup> It may be that many of them at first lost hope in the future of their people, and the intermarriages were a result of their hopelessness. But many of their children, again, bore genuinely Jewish names. There can be no doubt, however, that most of the Nippur Jews, while living in Babylonia, had their hearts in Palestine. Their names

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Guthe in Cheyne and Black's *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Vol. I, col. 1108.

<sup>2</sup> If many of them intermarried in Palestine, there were no doubt intermarriages in Babylonia too. A case of intermarriage between a Jew (Iashe'-Iāma) and a Babylonian woman (Ḥalā) we also seem to have in a Babylonian document from the time of Cyrus (see above, p. 32, note 1).



bear witness to this. Was not the name of Ezra's great helper נְחֶמְיָה, and was not the name of Nehemiah's brother חַנַּנִי, and that of his helper, the governor of Jerusalem, 'a faithful man,' who 'feared God above many', חֲנַנִּיָּה (Neh. i. 1, vii. 2)? Almost the same names as those of many Nippur Jews.

We thus see that the Babylonian Jews were firm in their belief in God, and were greatly attached to their land and their brethren. And what about religious practices? There are two names which might also give us an answer to this question. These are the names שַׁבְּתִי and חֲדָתִי. These names were also formed during the exile (see above, pp. 27 and 28). They seem to show that their bearers kept the Sabbath-days (cf. also Isa. lvi. 2 ff., 6 ff., lviii. 13) and festivals (cf. also Ezra iii. 4, vi. 12 ff.; Neh. viii. 13 ff.). The Sabbath-day and the festival became, perhaps, even dearer to them on the alien soil, as so many sweet and sacred reminiscences from olden times were associated with these days, and they, no doubt, celebrated them with great devotion. And when a child was born on that day, there was nothing more natural than to form an inseparable link between the child and the sacred day. It is no wonder, therefore, that at least five out of the seventy Nippur Jews with Hebrew names were called שַׁבְּתִי. And if they kept the Sabbath-day and the festivals, they no doubt fulfilled many other commandments.

Did they have places of worship? Most probably. But from the Murashū documents we cannot extract any information about this. One thing seems certain: that the Jews in Babylonia were better Jews than their brethren in Egypt. In the Murashū documents we would not have found a Jewess swearing by Bēl or Ishtar. Mibtahiah, however, swears by Sati (Pap. F 5). It is curious that Mesopotamia was always more favourable for the development of the Jew and Judaism than the land of the Nile. In Babylonia: Abraham, the reawakening during the exile, the Talmud. In Egypt: slavery

under the Pharaohs, serving of 'strange gods' during the exile (Jer. lxiv), Hellenism. No wonder the prophets always had more liking for Babylonia than for Egypt. The spirit of Ham was, it seems, antagonistic to the spirit of Israel. Of course, the growth of Israel and his religion was possible only in Palestine. How far greater was the destiny of the returned Golah than that of their brethren who remained in Babylonia! But in Babylonia the Jews could at least retain their identity and preserve their religion, and even develop it in a certain sense. In Egypt both Jew and Judaism soon dried up. Nippur and Syene. What a contrast! Here the visions of prophets and psalmists and the beating hearts of faithful Jews. There a broken altar and a broken faith. The Jews of Nippur were worthy of their contemporaries Ezra and Nehemiah. Therein lies the great importance of what we learn from the Murashū tablets.

Nippur is now merely a name. It was more than a thousand years ago that this once mighty city became a heap of ruins. The temple of Bēl is crumbled to dust, and all that went to make Nippur is gone. But something was left: the clay beneath the ruins. Through the zeal of the explorer and the work of the decipherer life has been breathed into this clay, and it speaks to us. It speaks and discloses secrets from ages past. One of these secrets is the life of the Jews in the Babylonian exile. It is not disclosed entirely. But a part of it is disclosed. And what do we see? That the Jews who lived in Babylonia in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah were true to their God and to the ideals of Israel.









